boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which are made from dough and whole beans; and finally, still more atole. The atole is served not in individual *jícaras* but in two or three large ones (*batzil-booch*), which are passed from person to person. The same is done with the other foods; they are served in one or two large pots (*mucul pulato*) out of which everyone serves himself. This banquet is given only on the first day of the planting; if other days are required, the milpero himself does the planting.

Since weeds grow rapidly during the rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice before it reaches maturity. For this the luk or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the same one used to break the soil before planting. The first weeding is done in June, the second between July and August. Women help their husbands in this chore and sometimes do it entirely themselves, since the men are in the habit of leaving for Tapachula to work as peons on the coffee plantations.

Also in the milpa beans of several varieties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, according to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large common bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara*; and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15–20 m. square. The planting is done during the first weeks of March, in alternate years so that it will not coincide with the year when the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajal-ik* or red chile.

Toward the end of August, the first fruits are ready (*unimajam* or *jilote*, according to Ladinos). These are received with great joy by the families which are by then lacking food. From each plant, which provides two or three *jilotes*, the farthest down is picked to let the other two grow bigger. These jilotes are boiled without salt and are eaten whole, including the husks.

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Wheat. In selecting the seed, the farmers choose those heads with the most kernels—there may be from thirty to eighty on each head. The same kind of seed must be used in planting each plot of land or the soil "does not give well." A new wheat seed was introduced by an American agronomist in the 1950s. The following reaction by an informant reveals why most of the farmers decided not to use it:

There is a quick-growing wheat, called foreign wheat because a foreigner brought it and planted it in the soil. Those who wanted to try it were given some. It was difficult to harvest because it was very dry and broke easily. Most of the grain was left behind on the ground. When it got to the threshing floor, most of it was broken. Therefore the town did not want it. So we continue planting the common wheat and it doesn't break.

The inefficient harvesting techniques force the people to consider loss of grains in deciding what wheat they will seed. However, a few of the farmers continue to grow the new wheat.

The scheduling of wheat production is shown in Table 8. The *arada* plow, introduced by the Spaniards (Foster 1951) and made locally by farmers for their own use, is commonly used to prepare the land. A few farmers borrow the plow of a relative, or sometimes a metal plowshare is bought in the departmental capital.

The harvest is the most arduous work in wheat production, but because it is done with the assistance of four or five helpers, usually brothers or compadres, it is a gay occasion. There are about a dozen threshing shelters which are individually owned and rented for 5 pesos a day. At the height of the harvesting season, the farmers have to wait for their turn to use the shelter. After the threshing, a fiesta is held in the house of the owner of the wheat at which liquor and a meal of beef stew is served. Since the labor involved is based on exchange rather than payment, the owner will take part in the harvest and celebration of those whom he has helped.

Beans. The choice of locale and the time of planting vary more radically for beans than for other crops because of the greater differences in type of seed. The two major types of beans are (1) ground beans, of

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244 which there is a black variety and a colored variety, and (2) climbing beans, of which there are four subclasses: "painted," white, yellow, and black. Beans must be grown only in irrigated lands of highest productiv-

TABLE 8. Schedule of Activities in Wheat Production

Activity	Winter wheat	Summer wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Winter wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Summer wheat	Helpers	Tools
Clear land	Dec. 7	May 12	5	2	2 paid workers	Machete, forked stick
Irrigate land; leave soaking	Dec. 7	May 15	1	1		
Plow	Dec. 15	May 23	1	2	Oxen team	Plow
Sow seed broadcast; cover, crossing over twice	Dec. 16	May 24	1	1	Oxen team	Plow
Cut wheat	May 1	Oct. 5	2	2	2 or 3 unpaid workers	Scythe
Thresh						
Carry wheat to shelter	May 3	Oct. 7				Net bags
Horses trample wheat	May 4	Oct. 8				
Shake stalks						Forked stick
Scoop grains into wooden box and sift to get rid of chaff	May 5	Oct. 9	3	3	4 or 5 unpaid workers, 5 horses	Box with wire mesh
Put grain in burlap bags; carry to houses on horseback						Burlap bags

[115] SOURCE: Information from two informants, one who grows winter wheat and the other who grows summer wheat, both cultivating ½ hectare of irrigated land.

244 ity. The land in the center, except for the fertilized corral areas, has lately yielded a very poor harvest. People say that the soul of the bean departed when they introduced the crop to their ejido plots in hot country. The scheduling of bean production is shown in Table 9.

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Guarding the crops. The crops must be guarded against intruders. The farmers sometimes sleep in the fields when they expect animals to steal the ripening corn. They observe the habits of these intruders and develop belief systems which help them organize opposition:

The raccoon steals maize seeds. He pushes down cornstalks when they are in elote and steals the cob. He is very smart. He can tell whether the owner is sleeping or not by putting his hand on his own anus. If his anus is cold, the owner is awake; if it is hot the owner is asleep and he enters.

Some men who live below in Alannantik have good dogs. They planted their milpa, and the next night wanted to hunt. "You stay with one dog,"

TABLE 9. Schedule of Activities in Bean Production

Activity	*Date*	*No. of days necessary for task*	*Helpers*	*Tools*
Cleaning and preparation of soil is same as for corn (Table 6)				
Ground beans				
Plant between rows of corn	Mar. 1	2	3 exchange workers	Digging stick
Cultivate	Apr. 19	3	2 exchange workers	Hoe
Harvest, pulling up entire plants and putting them in burlap bags	July 10	2		
Store in eaves of house				Burlap bags
When pods are very dry, beat bag with stick to depod beans	Sept. 1	2	women of household	Stick
Pole beans				
Plant, following the second hoeing of corn, setting seeds near each hillock of corn	May 2	1		Digging stick
Wind the vines up on corn stalk; tie	June	1		
Cut pods and store in burlap bags in eaves of house	Nov.	1		Burlap bags
Shell beans as they are used				

SOURCE: Same as for Table 6.

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244 461 464 412
[115]